1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

munal lands of the Indian *pueblo*, the *altepetlalli*, which has not been converted to private holdings, and they equally represent the communal pastures and wood lots of the medieval Spanish village.[1] Together, *pastales* and *cerriles* constitute the *ejido* of the present *pueblo*. Anyone from Tepoztlán or the seven hamlets may pasture cattle or cut wood in these lands.[2] These common lands are a source of frequent discussion and dispute; regulations are made for their protection and administration and often they are the subject of quarrels with neighboring landholding units. For many years Tepoztlán (the entire municipality) has disputed with the *hacienda* of Oacalco the ownership to certain marginal lands, and the fact that the *hacienda* is now not in private hands but in the hands of the state has not abated the quarrel.

Such a dispute, of the entire valley community with another landholding organization, serves to enhance the local *esprit de corps*. But it must be said that land disputes may operate to set one village against another as well as to draw them all together. It is probable that not infrequently one village comes to claim a special right in some particular part of the *ejido*. In 1927 a dispute developed with regard to certain mountain lands in which the inhabitants of Santa Catarina were cutting wood for charcoal without first

[1] McBride, *Land Systems of Mexico*, p. 114.

[2] These public lands, it will be observed, are exploited by individuals for private profit. The only lands in Tepoztlán which are both communally owned and communally operated for communal profit are the lands belonging to the local chapels; these will be explained in a later chapter.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

423 obtaining the permission of the municipal authorities
628 in Tepoztlán. The land had once belonged to another
578 neighboring *hacienda* and had been the subject of another prolonged dispute in the course of which lives
[148] were taken, but for some time now the *hacienda* has been a ruin and a memory. Tepoztlán claims to have purchased the land, through the form of a conveyance to a group of citizens, while Santa Catarina denies this sale and claims to have made a contract with the *hacienda* granting permission to cut wood on the property. When the local government arrested the *carboneros* of Santa Catarina, that hamlet asserted its alleged special rights with vigor, and a considerable bitterness developed between the people of Tepoztlán and those of Santa Catarina.

621 The eight villages are in this manner bound into a
628 community by common interests which stimulate now
796 co-operation, now competition. The same alternation of opposing tendencies—one centripetal, one centrif-
[182] ugal—can be observed in connection with the institutions which carry on the social and ceremonial activities. Each village is under the protection of the local saint whose image is housed in the single church of the village. On the name day of the saint the village holds a *fiesta* celebrating this patron god. These occasions require a great deal of preparation involving food for the festal dishes, decoration of the church, fireworks, religious dances, etc. The village is then the focus of attention for the people of the community; and to the *fiesta* come also many from outside the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

It remains to indicate the relation of the formal government to the actual social organization. The local political unit, the *municipalidad*, embraces Tepoztlán and the seven satellite hamlets and is therefore a recognition of the natural community. The seat of municipal government is at Tepoztlán. It consists of a municipal council (*consejo municipal*), embracing one chief officer (*presidente*) and eight assistants (*ayudantes*), a secretary, and a judge (*juez*). The last, with the aid of a more literate secretary, hears local complaints, and, if he cannot compose them, transmits memoranda on such matters to Cuernavaca. The government is in form elected annually on the first of January. In fact, it is (at the time of this study) appointed from Cuernavaca, the seat of the state government, from among those in political sympathy with the state government in power.[1] At present,[2] election by viva voce, as an emergency measure, under control of the party in power, permits a slate to be installed with the active participation of a handful of adherents and the almost complete indifference of the body of the population.

This government does little beyond the administration of routine matters. Except for occasional regulations dealing with the exploitation of or possible injury to the communal lands, no legislation is passed. An attempt is made to collect local taxes,[3] but such

[1] During 1927 the Campesinos (rural radical party).

[2] 1927.

[3] There are four: a tax on real estate, a sales tax on domestic animals, a tax for use of the slaughter-house, and the tax on merchants using the public *plaza*.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

attempts are not infrequently resented by individuals who paid no taxes during the years of the revolution. Furthermore, valuation of property is in the hands of a committee of inhabitants who put down their own and their neighbors' lands for a merely nominal value. Thus deprived of revenues, the municipal government cannot initiate improvements.

Until recent years local government was by the old *cacique* system whereby a single individual of personality and local prestige ruled the community with the consent of public opinion. The *cacique* usually served for life. This system, along with the informal neighborhood organizations to be described later, probably suited better the political spirit of the village than do the exterior forms of an annually elected and annually changed municipal board. Now the law is enforced requiring the municipal government to be changed every year.

Nevertheless this government, drawn from the people, more nearly represents them than did the provisional rulers sent down after the revolution by the federal government, or than do now the collectors of the state tax, where they are outsiders similarly imposed on the community by the state. Such proconsular representatives of an exterior power remain, so far as personal experience would indicate, only long enough to exploit and defraud the natives. Justly the objects of fear and suspicion, they pass a tenure of office in no small measure dependent on the readiness of the gun.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

until next year. A bottle of *aguardiente* is passed around by the *mayordomo*, another fire is built, and the *chirimía* plays there all night.

On the morning of the first of January a new municipal government is elected and installed. But this is accomplished in semi-secrecy by a political clique controlled from Cuernavaca.[1] A group of men crossing the *plaza* after an election, formal only, a number of rockets discharged in honor of the new *presidente*—it all passes almost unnoticed by most of the people who go about their affairs thinking of the *castillo* that evening.

January 2 and 3.—These two days are the occasion of the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa* for the *fiesta* just passed. On one of these two days the people must come to pay their pledges for the candles or for the *castillo*, which are paid for by popular subscription. The subscriptions are perennial, made each year in the same amount on the same day with the same ritual, and constitute a promise to the *santo*. For this *fiesta*, which is a *fiesta* of the entire town, people come to pay from all the *barrios*, and even from the little villages around Tepoztlán.

Today there are two *chirimías* playing simultaneously in the houses of the two *mayordomos* in Santa Cruz. The sound of these *chirimías*, and the occasional discharge of rockets and of mortars of gunpowder, serve to remind of their obligation those who have pledged payment. The people come to make this pay-

[1] The year of this study.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

January 14.—The *fiesta* of the village of Santa Catarina de Zacatepec also falls on January 12, but because it is an important *fiesta* that is attended by people from many villages it is generally postponed until the following Sunday. In such a case candles are also burned before the *santo* on the proper day, which is the "day of the *santo*," while the Sunday on which the celebration is held and the festal dishes eaten is called the "*fiesta* of the *mole*."

Now people are coming to Tepoztlán from Santa Catarina to invite friends to come on Sunday and eat *mole verde* with them. The *cohetero* is building the *castillos*, and the *mayordomos* are superintending the cleaning and decorating of the chapel.

January 16 (*about*).—On the day of the *fiesta* the roads to Santa Catarina are filled with people traveling on foot. They come from Tepoztlán, Cuernavaca, and Yautepec, and from the little villages of San Juan, San Andres, Santiago, Santo Domingo, Amatlán, and Ixcatepec. Everyone wears his best clothes. It is a very important *fiesta;* there will be two *castillos* and three groups of *Apaches*. The yard of the church is soon filled with waiting people. The devout first enter the chapel to offer prayer or to burn a candle. There are men just outside the churchyard gate digging a hole for the pole of the *castillo*.

Before the morning is old *Los Apaches* come from Jalatlaco in the state of Mexico. Like all religious dancers, they come in fulfilment of a pledge to the *santo;* this vow is annually renewed, and each year on

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

will buy up their neighbor's coffee and carry it to Cuernavaca for resale. Many men, having no other work and no savings, have gone to the sugar *haciendas* at Oacalco to work there as day laborers.[1] They do not take their women with them. Sometimes a woman cooks for them all in the camp at the *hacienda*. Sometimes they come back twice a week to Tepoztlán to fetch food prepared for them by their wives. Then twice a week the women spend hours by day and by night grinding on the *metate* to make them enough *tortillas* and *itacates* and *gorditas* to last them three days at Oacalco.

The entire village has its attention directed toward the coming carnival—the most important secular *fiesta* of the valley. Almost everyone in Tepoztlán has some share in it, while those who come to Tepoztlán from other villages come only as guests to enjoy the hospitality of Tepoztlán. The carnival is the supreme co-operative effort of the town. In February the men of San Miguel, La Santísima,[2] and Santo Domingo are organizing the *comparsas* for the masked dancers. Musicians must be hired from larger towns, and the cost of their hire is now apportioned among the members of the *comparsas*. These members, who will leap as *Chinelos* during the carnival, are busy sewing glass beads and mirrors on the huge, laterally flattened *sombreros* which they will wear. Their wives and mothers

[1] This exodus began the second half of December.

[2] The *comparsa* of La Santísima was first organized about three years ago; the other two groups are ancient.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

527
535
[292] *parsas*, men from the upper *barrios*, mask themselves in any rags they can obtain, and follow after the *Chinelos*, leaping too.

Later each night a dance is held in the schoolroom, and those men who know how dance with women friends and relatives from Cuernavaca or Mexico City.

March 7, 8, and 9 (about).—These three days form the *octava* of the carnival. They furnish three more afternoons of leaping, of band music, of ices and lemonades and *pozole*. The interest of the passive observers never flags, and each day at three o'clock the *Chinelos* begin again to whoop and leap down to the *plaza*.

March 14, 15, and 16 (about).—The following week-end the carnival is celebrated in Yautepec. Many
[648] from Tepoztlán attend, including the *Chinelos* who still have appetite for more hours of *brincando* in their heavy satin garments.

221
*[796] An ebb of interest and energy follows the carnival. The *fiesta* has drained money and strength. Before lie the quite different moods of Holy Week. The dry season is far advanced; dust is thick on the roads; the yards are burned yellow and stiff; the upper pastures on the slopes of the hills glow with low flame and heavy orange smoke night after night where the dry grass has been fired. People keep to themselves, wrapped by a mood of depression and discouragement.

[241] The agricultural cycle has reached its nadir. It is still too early to prepare the *milpas*. A few who have

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

ambition to reduce unbroken ground begin now to clear the brush and weeds from *claculoles*.[1] During this otherwise-idle season men repair houses, walls, roads, fountains. Everywhere around the village householders are carrying stones to replace those fallen from broken walls, or are putting new tiles on roofs. Groups of men, working co-operatively, rebuild broken washing stones, relay stones in the streets, or build new water tanks on street corners.

During this period fairs are held in some of the larger villages in Morelos, and these draw some from Tepoztlán who make the journey usually on foot, occasionally in part by train. The dates of the fairs are given according to the number of Fridays preceding Holy Week. Thus, "the first Friday" is the fair of Chalma and also that of Xiutepec; "the second Friday," that of Tepalzingo. Then follow the fairs of Tlayacapan and Mazatepec. Some men make the rounds of all these fairs.

Palm Sunday, El Domingo de Ramos.—On this day people bring palm, laurel, and cedar to the church to be blessed.

Holy Tuesday,[2] *Martes Santo.*—Men assist the *mayordomos* to decorate the church, to dress the images, and to prepare the candles for Holy Week. A table is laid in the yard of the Templo Mayor, and in

[1] *Tlacololli:* pieces of unbroken land on mountain slopes first reduced to tillage by clearing. They are allotted out of the communal *ejidos*.

[2] Frances Toor (*Mexican Folkways*) says Thursday, but this is probably an error. The old custom was to build a prison for Christ, she says, and imprison the image all night.

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

It is still too early to work in the *milpas* in Tepoztlán, but up above, at the village of San Juan, the maize is already being planted. In Tepoztlán, men are hewing beams to make new plows or to repair old ones.

May 7.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of San Miguel, for tomorrow is a minor *fiesta* of that *barrio* (the apparition of St. Michael). But little is done to celebrate it, for it is overshadowed by the very important *fiesta* of the village of Ixcatepec, which begins on the same day.

May 8.—This is the first and most important day of the *fiesta* of Ixcatepec. Of all the *fiestas* of *santos*, that of Ixcatepec is probably the most important, although the village is a very small one. For its celebration an organization is formed to include all the *barrios* in the valley. One or two *mayordomos* of these *barrios* and villages undertake to supply the candles to be burned on one of the eight days of the *fiesta*. One of the days is in charge of a village not of the valley. An event of the first day of the *fiesta* is the arrival of the people of this village, Milpa Alta, in the state of Mexico. Every year they come, perhaps a hundred of them, carrying their *santo*.[1] They come to celebrate their *fiesta* with that of Ixcatepec because they regard their *santo* as the same as that of Ixcatepec. They march into the church and place their image on the altar beside the other.

The altar is lit with many candles decorated with

[1] But the year of this study, on account of public insecurity and the religious difficulties, they did not come.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

treated as self-sufficient and isolated.[22] Undoubtedly, this is a carry-over from an older anthropological tradition which was concerned with salvaging cultural data from rapidly disappearing primitive peoples. While such an approach might still have some justification in dealing with an isolated tribe in the jungles of New Guinea, it has little justification in studies of modern nations like Mexico.

The common cultural heritage of Spain has reached into the most distant corners of Mexico since early colonial times; and since the Revolution of 1910-20, even the more isolated villages have become increasingly drawn into the main stream of national life and have felt the impact of national policies and programs. Tepoztlán is subject to national Mexican law, its *ejido* program is part of a national program, its school system is regulated by the Federal Department of Education, its forests are protected by the Federal Department of Forestry, and in a more general way its economic life is part of the larger economy of the state of Morelos and the nation. In this sense, then, the culture of Tepoztlán is part of the larger culture of Mexico and must be examined in that context.

In studying communities in Mexico it is important that the anthropologist become a student not merely of the single community but of the region and nation as well. The anthropologist must be sufficiently versed in the more important historical, geographical, economic, and cultural characteristics of the region and nation to be able to place his community in relation to each of them, and to indicate just what the community is representative of in the larger scene. Like the sociologist, the anthropologist must become skilled in the use of census data and comparative statistics to relate and compare population trends, standards of living, health and education, and types of agricultural problems. In the matter of cultural characteristics the anthropologist must know what is unique to his community and what it shares with broader areas, what is new and what is old, what is primitive and what is modern.

It seems to me that such a procedure makes for a better sense of perspective in understanding the local scene, and helps to distinguish more clearly between what is local and what is widespread.[23] It makes local materials more useful to other social scientists as well as to government administrators concerned with action programs. Furthermore, it offers an excellent opportunity to study the way in which national events and programs such as the Revolution and the *ejido* program have worked out under local conditions. One of the questions to be considered in this study, therefore, is: What is Tepoztlán representative of in rural Mexico?

It has become commonplace in writing about Mexico to begin by emphasizing the great diversity in geography, language, and the cultural levels of the people. Diversity is undoubtedly one of the important characteristics of the country, but we must not overlook the fact that within this diversity there are underlying similarities in trends and problems as well as in culture. These similarities are the result

[22] For a similar criticism see Julian Steward's paper, "Some Limitations of Anthropological Community Studies," read at the American Anthropological Association Meeting, 1948.

[23] A recent monograph on a Tarascan village devotes considerable space to describing children's games, which are known throughout most of Mexico and in other parts of Latin America, as though these games were a distinctively local Tarascan phenomenon.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the U.S.A. to the villagers. In addition, one Tepoztecan fought in the Mexican squadron which went to the Philippines and he, too, spoke of his experiences.

Tepoztecans have not escaped the repercussions of international events in recent years. World War II led to conscription, toward which Tepoztecans reacted negatively. During the first few months of our field work in the village in 1943-44 an incident occurred which illustrates the local attitude. The son of the president of the municipio had been recruited and was on his way to Cuernavaca to report for duty. His bus was stopped and the boy was "kidnapped" by several men. It was common gossip that this act was planned by the boy's father who, as a result of it, was imprisoned in Cuernavaca for some time. Federal troops were sent into the village and there was much tension among the people. However, the affair blew over, and the villagers resigned themselves to conscription and military training for their sons.

Another way in which current international events influence the village is in the intensified campaign of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the Catholic world. Acción Católica has almost doubled its membership in Tepoztlán since 1943 as a result of the increased activity of the church. The sermons of the priest sometimes include warnings against the threat of Communism, a theme which was also heard in the local church immediately after the Mexican Revolution and in the twenties. Other than this, most Tepoztecans have no information about international trends or problems; they are ignorant of the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and even of national loans.

The geographical horizon of most Tepoztecans becomes a little more concrete when they think of Mexico. While the shape of the country and its boundaries may still be hazy, they know that Mexico is their country, that it has coasts on the east and west, that the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is very hot, while the north is cold. They also know that the people of Monterrey are "stingy" and that the Yucatecans have "square-heads." They have heard of Tampico and Vera Cruz as important ports, and that Mexico produces oil and minerals. They also know some of the names of the states of Mexico, and many have had occasion to deal personally not only with people from Mexico City and with other Morelenses, but also with Mexicans from different states. During the Revolution they came into contact with soldiers from diverse parts of the country; the Norteños del Coahuila camped in Tepoztlán for months, and the people still speak of their strange customs.

Of course, the geographic horizons of the younger generation which has had some years of schooling are quite different. The children study a little world geography and know the continents and major countries of the world. Most have studied the map of Mexico, and some of the youth are beginning to demonstrate a real nationalism.

The average Tepoztecan's notion of the geography of the state of Morelos is much more precise than his notion of the geography of the nation. Many Tepoztecans have traveled over large portions of the state, as well as neighboring regions, during the years of the Revolution. Others have taken trips for economic

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

purposes, religious pilgrimages, or political reasons. Tepoztecans know what towns are to the north of the state of Morelos and have a pretty good notion of the products produced in the various parts of the state. Their work on haciendas to the south has also given them some familiarity with this part of the state. Some Tepoztecans are related by ties of marriage and *compadrazgo* with families in other parts of the state of Morelos.

There is an increasing identification of Tepoztecans with the Mexican nation and with the state of Morelos. The factors which relate the villagers to these larger entities are cultural, administrative, religious, political, and economic.

CULTURAL FACTORS

Perhaps the most important and decisive of the several cultural factors—the school, cultural missions, books and newspapers, the literacy campaign, and the movies—which tend to make for the formation of a sentiment of ***mexicanidad*** or Mexican nationalism is the school, where the younger generation learn about the history, geography, and economy of the country as a whole, and where a conscious effort is made to instill love of country.

THE SCHOOL

The school became more effective after the early twenties when the schools of the state of Morelos were federalized by means of a special agreement between the state and the nation. This led to the standardization of texts and teaching methods. But more important, the school personnel was recruited from various parts of Mexico rather than, as formerly, only from the state of Morelos. Since that time, Tepoztlán has had teachers from Yucatán, Jalisco, Nuevo León, and many other states. These teachers have different backgrounds and expose the children to the customs and sentiments of their respective regions. Thus, in the programs organized in the school, pupils have had the opportunity of seeing teachers dance the ***jarabe tapatío***, the ***raspa veracruzana***, and the ***jarana yucateca***.

Squadron 201, the new school building named after a squadron of Mexican aviators who fought in the Philippines in World War II, stands as a symbol of ***mexicanidad*** to Tepoztecans. The school was constructed with national funds upon the direct order of President Avila Camacho in response to the request of a Tepoztecan who was a member of Squadron 201. Upon the return of the squadron to Mexico, President Camacho organized a public reception and at this time invited each member to ask for what he desired. The majority of the men asked for subsidies for their families, but Angel Bocanegra asked for a school for his village. Because of this he has become a great hero in the village, and among the younger generation has taken the place of the older regional and village heroes of the Revolution.

The school not only stimulates Mexican nationalism, but is also a powerful factor in developing the feeling of being a Morelense. The school teaches the geography and economy of the state in some detail. The text on the geography of

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

NATIONAL AND STATE HOLIDAYS

The commemoration of the dates of national independence is assuming more and more importance in Tepoztlán. Thanks to the labor of the school, the national holidays of September fifteenth and sixteenth have become outstanding fiestas in the village—only the Carnaval is still more popular. Preparations are begun at least two months prior to September fifteenth. The children are the first to begin the campaign in the homes, for they are told by their teachers to ask for new uniforms for the parade. Despite the burden of such expense, many parents purchase the uniforms. All the local officials, the president, the councilmen, the judges, the director of the school, and the collector of rents, prepare for the event and all attend. Speakers from the governor's office in nearby Cuernavaca are usually invited, and the populace turns out to hear them.

The state of Morelos has its own civic fiestas which are celebrated with considerable flourish. Among the most important are the celebration of the birthday of Father Morelos, after whom the state was named, and the birth and death of the great General Emiliano Zapata, the most popular hero in the state. As in the case of the national fiestas, the school is the organizing and driving force in the celebration of these fiestas; however, they are not on as large a scale as national fiestas. The teachers and the school director generally make speeches, reviewing the great achievements of the hero Zapata, and they do not fail to point out that at least five of Zapata's generals were from Tepoztlán. In addition to these local celebrations, Tepoztecans often send a delegate to the official state celebration of Zapata's birthday.

The state also has its popular song writers, and its songs dwell on local history or local scenes, easily recognized as Morelos songs by the lyrics if not by the music.

MOVIES

Mexican movies have also broadened the Tepoztecan view of Mexico and the world. More and more the younger generation see an occasional movie in Cuernavaca, and sometimes a movie comes to Tepoztlán to be shown in the plaza at a small cost.

ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS

At least half a dozen federal government agencies have files on Tepoztlán. These files contain correspondence with the village and provide us with a more or less objective record of Tepoztlán and national agencies. Most of the files date from the early twenties and reflect the increasing role of these agencies in village life in the post-Revolutionary period. The agencies which have the fullest records are the Departamento Agrario, Forestal, Asuntos Indígenas, Economía Nacional, Salubridad, and Asistencia Social.

It is not my purpose to give a detailed account of all the federal agencies which may directly or indirectly influence Tepoztlán. However, the more salient ways

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

[648] in which the national administrative apparatus affects the daily lives of Tepoztecans will be considered here.

TAXATION

[651] Federal taxation touches most Tepoztecans directly and is a common subject of complaint. Most Tepoztecans view it as an imposition and do not readily understand the need for taxation nor what is done with the money. In fact, Tepoztecans pay relatively little in federal taxes, primarily on the sale of charcoal, on the slaughter of animals, and on trade. Tepoztecans accept fatalistically the necessity of paying taxes, but it develops a negative and critical attitude toward the national government.

HEALTH SERVICES

[744] [757] The federal government has a health center in Cuernavaca which is frequented by some Tepoztecans. However, the majority, particularly the older people, do not use it because they still prefer *curanderos* and are not yet accustomed to the idea of receiving services from the state. Even the federal health workers who come into the village from time to time to administer inoculations against communicable disease are endured by most villagers out of "respect" for the great power of the government, rather than because of an understanding of their services.

AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

[656] The Departamento Agrario intervenes directly in the affairs of Tepoztecans who hold land under the *ejido* program. Federal authority is the final authority which resolves problems or conflicts concerning *ejido* lands. But here, too, many Tepoztecans see in the agrarian authorities an imposition rather than a system of public service. As we have shown earlier, the nationalization of the communal lands has lessened local control, and this has not been well accepted. Tepoztecans [423] do not yet understand the need for national control of forest resources, especially when such control conflicts with their local interests.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Perhaps the clearest form in which the Tepoztecan peasant sees the power of the federal government is in the federal troops. Almost as a matter of tradition, [702] Tepoztecans have viewed soldiers with strong suspicion and dislike, and have fought attempts to conscript their sons. However, the attitude toward federal troops today is quite different from that shown toward the Federales of the Díaz [701] regime. Today the troops stationed in the village fraternize with the population; and though they are "respected" there is less of the fear that existed during the Díaz regime. Federal troops have been sent to the village on a number of occasions in recent years, once in connection with resistance to conscription during [702] the early part of World War II, and again when local political contests resulted in [666] violence.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The negative reactions of the peasants to conscription stem from a number of causes. Many recalled the hateful system of forced recruiting which had existed under the Díaz regime and feared that this system was now being reinstituted. Parents were distrustful of the care and food their sons would receive in the army and worried about their fate among strangers in the hostile outside world. Also, the absence of an eighteen-year-old son for a year often meant a serious economic loss to the family. Tepoztecans do not identify national problems of defense or internal order with their own interests, and they resent having to fight other people's (i.e., Mexicans') battles. Local feeling against conscription reached its climax when it was rumored that the young men were being prepared to fight against the Germans at the orders of the United States. This rumor was spread throughout Mexico by the Sinarquistas.

JUSTICE AND THE DEPARTAMENTO DE GOBERNACIÓN

There are very few occasions when local court cases reach the federal courts. However, federal intervention was sought during the hectic political campaigns of the twenties, when Tepoztecans who were imprisoned for political reasons appealed for federal injunctions to get them free. More recently a boundary conflict between Tepoztlán and Tejalpa reached the Federal Supreme Court, and Tepoztecans have sent many delegations to visit the justices of this court to explain their case.

Another federal department with which Tepoztecans have had some contact is *Gobernación* which is responsible for preserving public order throughout Mexico and for the smooth functioning of political campaigns and elections.

As we have seen, the attitude of Tepoztecans toward most federal agencies is a negative one. The outstanding exception is the school, which was built with federal funds and which is appreciated by the populace. The fact is that Tepoztecans might obtain more aid from federal agencies if they sought it out. However, the attitude of suspicion and self-sufficiency of the older generation militates against this. Now that the younger generation is beginning to take over positions of power, the situation may change. Angel Bocanegra, president of the municipio, is a good example of this. Bocanegra did not hesitate to go to Mexico City and visit the various federal departments soliciting aid for the village. In preparing for the celebration of the national holidays in 1949, Bocanegra borrowed an electric generator from one agency to provide electricity for the occasion, a movie projector from another agency, and from still another agency he received the promise of help in improving the quality of the local water supply.

Dealings of Tepoztecans with the administrative apparatus of the state government are quite frequent and are facilitated by the proximity of Cuernavaca. The governor of the state is an important figure to Tepoztecans. It would be difficult to find Tepoztecans who do not know the name of the present governor, and many can recall at least a few past governors. Indeed, some even remember the names of some of the governors of the Díaz epoch. The governor is thought of as "almost the president." However, the fact that they have seen the governor more

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

often than the president and that he generally visits the village before elections makes the villagers feel less distant toward him. There is less hesitancy about sending a delegation to the governor than to the president. On the other hand, Tepoztecans are much more critical of the governor and the state government than of the president. Tepoztecans recognize the necessity of a federal government to maintain order and "to protect us from the foreigners." They see much less reason for the existence of the state government, but they fear and respect its powers and authority.

Bodies such as the Procuradería General del Estado and the Receptoría General de Rentas del Estado have enormous meaning to the Tepoztecan. The first is the body in charge of all cases of violation of the public order, and their agents have frequently come to Tepoztlán to make arrests or to track down offenders. The Procuradería settles property cases and often sends summons to Tepoztecans to appear at a certain hour and day for hearings. Tepoztecans complain bitterly about the fact that the Procuradería accepts no excuses and will summon a man during the height of the agricultural season just as readily as any other time. Whether a man has bus fare or not, he must appear in Cuernavaca or an order for his arrest and detention will be forthcoming and a fine will be imposed. The Tepoztecan therefore fears the Procuradería, which appears to him to have arbitrary power. He also fears the public jails and the courts, both of which are related to the Procuradería. The state office of rents in Cuernavaca is also disliked, since it collects the bulk of the taxes taken from Tepoztlán.

In Cuernavaca there are such services as a state hospital and state supported medical clinics. But Tepoztecans are under the impression that the hospital is inferior, and rarely go there. A few have more faith in the hospitals of Mexico City and occasionally go there for serious operations.

RELIGIOUS FACTORS

Just as Tepoztecans are aware of an administrative hierarchy whose seat is in Mexico City, so they are aware of a religious hierarchy headed by the archbishop in Mexico City. Of course, they realize that the final authority is the Pope in Rome. The local priest often mentions the Pope and his messages, as well as the messages from the archbishop. The church in Tepoztlán has taken an active part in all the recent campaigns of the national church organization. For example, the four hundredth anniversary of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which was celebrated throughout the nation, was also celebrated in Tepoztlán and was the occasion for the visitation of church dignitaries who explained the great miracle of the apparition of the Virgin to Juan Diego shortly after the Conquest. In their sermons the priests generally identify the Virgin as a symbol of Mexican nationalism. And of course there are Tepoztecans who go on the annual pilgrimages to the shrine of the Virgin. In addition there are other religious cults of widespread popularity in Tepoztlán and other parts of the nation. One such cult is the Holy Saint of Chalma, who is visited annually by many Tepoztecans.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The Catholic Church within the state has its regional seat in Cuernavaca, where the bishop resides. The priest in Tepoztlán is under his supervision and carries out his instructions. Periodic religious pilgrimages establish important ties with other parts of the state. Within Tepoztlán there are the following *mayordomías*, each of which organizes at least one annual visit to another town. The *mayordomías* in Tepoztlán proper include Mazatepec, Jiutepec, Tejalpa, Tlayacapan, all in Morelos, and Chalma in the state of Guerrero. Four of the seven villages of the municipio of Tepoztlán also have *mayordomías* that relate them to the state. Santiago goes to Oacalco and Yautepec; Gabriel Mariaca to Ixcatepec, Tlayacapan, Cuautla, Jojutla, Jiutepec, and Mazatepec, all in Morelos, to Amecameca in the state of Mexico, to Chalma in Guerrero, and to the Villa de Guadalupe in the Federal District. Ocotitlán goes to the Villa de Guadalupe, Chalma, and Amecameca. San Juan goes to Mazatepec, Chalma, the Villa de Guadalupe, and Amecameca.

POLITICAL FACTORS

The Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 has been one of the most important factors in developing a sense of nationalism among Tepoztecans. Many Tepoztecans joined the ranks of the Zapatistas and had occasion to travel widely with the guerrilla forces. As we have pointed out, the rest of the population was forced to flee to other parts of the nation. All of this meant more extensive contacts with the outside.

During the years of the Revolution and thereafter, many of the *caudillos* of the Revolution, such as Zapata and Obregón, established the custom of visiting the peasants personally and discussing local problems. Contact with the rural population has been one of the policies of the post-Revolution presidents since Calles. Tepoztecans now think of the president of Mexico not only as a representative of the powerful government, but also as a popular figure, a friend of the peasants.

It is not uncommon for Tepoztecans to send requests or protests directly to the president. This has happened in almost every case of conflict between factions in the village or in cases of boundary quarrels with neighboring villages or municipios. This attitude toward the president was reinforced by the personal visit of General Lázaro Cárdenas to the village during his presidency. Cárdenas arrived in the village on foot, without any previous announcement or preparation, and accompanied only by a small contingent of friends and officials. The president set up a temporary office in the atrium of the church, where he consulted Tepoztecans about their problems. The big request from the village was for aid with the construction of a road to Cuernavaca. The president acceded, and the road was quickly completed with federal help.

The national elections for the president, which come every six years, also give Tepoztecans an opportunity to discuss political themes of nation-wide scope. Before the elections, delegates and politicians visit the village to organize local committees in favor of their particular group or candidate. During such campaigns Tepoztecans become more keenly aware that they are acting not only as Tepoztecans and as Morelenses, but also as members of the Mexican nation.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

To a lesser degree the election of federal senator and deputies also touches the Tepoztecan population. On these occasions politicians from the capital come to the village to electioneer and to organize sympathizers for their candidates. However, the intervention of the governor of the state is much more direct in these elections, and so Tepoztecans tend to view them as state or regional elections. On the whole, the younger generation participates very little in politics, since this is a matter for the older men.

Some indication of the Tepoztecan sense of belonging to the Mexican nation may be gathered from their reaction to the question of Mexico's participation in World War II. Most Tepoztecans were opposed to Mexican entrance into the war on the side of the democracies. Under the influence of Sinarquist propaganda, sympathy with the Axis powers developed in the village. Rumors began to circulate that Zapata was not really dead but was fighting with Hitler, and that that explained why the Germans were winning so many victories. The latent and widespread anti-U.S.A. sentiment was encouraged by rumors that the Mexicans were being asked to fight to save the gringos. Nevertheless, the Tepoztecans accepted the Mexican declaration of war as one of those decisions of the omnipotent federal government, about which nothing can be done. This Tepoztecan attitude of passivity was typical of the attitude of most Mexicans toward the war.

Since the Revolution the state of Morelos has developed an intense political life that has reached into Tepoztlán. After the thirties, constitutional government was instituted and the governor and local officials were elected, rather than imposed. Political campaigns and electioneering became important; and Tepoztlán, because of its proximity to the state capital, received much attention from prospective candidates. In the attempt to get votes, speakers appealed to state loyalty with such slogans as, "First the Morelenses and then the Mexicans," and made typical demagogic preelection speeches. A good number of Tepoztecans show enthusiasm and interest in state politics, and several hundred men generally turn out to hear the speeches. The election of a new governor always means the possibility of some advantage to the village, or at least to a few Tepoztecans who have actively supported him.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

The Tepoztecan economy is not self-sufficient, and is an integral part of the larger national economy. Tepoztlán exports corn, charcoal, and plums to Mexico City, and in turn imports manufactured goods and some foods. Trading relations involve contacts with individuals in the big city, and occasionally Tepoztecans go directly to Mexico City to make purchases. Since the construction of the road, trade and economic contacts with Mexico City have been much more frequent. The tourist trade has also made for increased contacts with outsiders.

Trade between Tepoztlán and other towns in the state of Morelos develops knowledge of the region and its peoples. Tepoztlán carries on most of its trade with Cuernavaca and Yautepec, but also with smaller towns and villages in the state.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

be called upon for service to the community. Failure to respond to such a call is punishable by a fine or jail sentence. However, a man can pay the daily wage of a substitute if desired. When the task is a relatively small one and more men are called up than are needed for the actual work, some are asked to contribute food or drink instead of labor.

The better-to-do families generally do not participate in the village *cuatequitl*, since they consider such work beneath their dignity and prefer to pay for substitutes. The main source of labor for the village *cuatequitl* are the poor who cannot afford substitutes or fines. The men from the smaller and poorer barrios have the reputation of being the most industrious and reliable workers for the *cuatequitl*. This is related to the fact that they have little political influence and have greater fear of the authorities.

The village *cuatequitl* is organized in terms of the eight *demarcaciones* or wards into which the village is divided. The *ayudante* or representative of each *demarcación* is ordered to announce a *cuatequitl* in his ward, and specific men are designated to appear at a given time and place. The attendance of the men is checked by the *ayudante* from his list.[11] Sometimes, when men are needed at short notice, more direct means are used to assure successful recruitment.

In a recent boundary dispute with the municipio of Tejalpa, the authorities posted aides at all the roads and paths leading out of the village to intercept the men as they went to their fields early in the morning. In this way 600 men were recruited in one day, and they were set to work to cut through the forest overgrowth which covered the disputed boundary line. In this case, since it was a municipio boundary, men from the other villages were also recruited. Other instances of inter-village *cuatequitl* have occurred in the repair of bridges which are used in common.

In recent years there have been very few village *cuatequitls* of major importance. In 1934 some work was done to improve the market place. The last important village *cuatequitl* was organized in 1926–27 while Redfield was in the village.[12] At this time, under the initiative of the local political faction known as the Bolsheviki, communal washbasins were constructed. (See Fig. 20.) During the twenties, political feelings ran so high and cleavages were so marked that members of the opposition group refused to work in *cuatequitls* organized by those in power. Fines were out of the question at the time because authority could not be enforced.

During the early thirties, when political schisms were still strong, there occurred an unusual type of voluntary village *cuatequitl* for the construction of the road to Cuernavaca. Led by two enterprising non-Tepoztecan schoolteachers and with the backing of the colony of Tepoztecans in Mexico City, the villagers decided to build a road to Cuernavaca. The two political factions, the Bolsheviki and the Frater-

[11] Some men will work until the check-off and then slip away.

[12] Before the Revolution, when there was more money in the local treasury and when the local government was in the hands of *caciques* whose tenure was quite stable, there were many more *cuatequitls* than now.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

423 476 794 the same lands which were worked for the Aztec priesthood were later worked for the Catholic Church.

COMMUNAL LANDS

175 423 The communal lands represent one of the oldest forms of landholding and have shown a remarkable stability through the years. The system of communal landholding has remained practically intact through both the Aztec and Spanish Conquests. Indeed, the similarity between the policy of the Spanish and Aztec conquerors of Tepoztlán toward the system of communal landholdings is noteworthy.

When Tepoztecans asked the Spaniards for legal title to their lands in the early sixteenth century, they were able to present maps showing the boundaries of their lands which they had held under Moctezuma. These ancient "titles" were used by the Spaniards as a basis for determining the limits of the land grants.[1] The present [131] limits of the municipio are therefore almost identical with those of pre-Hispanic days. Because most Tepoztecan lands were ill suited for either sugar or rice plantations, and because of the policy both of the Crown and of the Marqués del Valle, who conquered Tepoztlán in 1521, to alter only those native institutions which constituted a direct threat to the conquerors, the Marqués was not interested in Tepoztecan lands as such. Rather, he wanted taxes in the form of produce and later in money, and he wanted the labor of Tepoztecans to work his mines and haciendas.

Tepoztlán received its first land titles from the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza in a grant dated May 20, 1548. This grant consisted of two *sitios de ganado mayor;* its next grant under Don Louis de Velasco, dated February 6, 1555, was for four *sitios de ganado menor* and eight *caballerías de tierra.*[2] These land grants gave Tepoztecans legal title to lands which they had traditionally worked and claimed.

[631] The titles for the communal holdings of the municipio are considered very pre-
[648] cious, and responsibility for their safekeeping is entrusted to the *síndico* of the municipal local government in Tepoztlán. These titles are used primarily in boundary disputes, which have been going on with neighboring municipios for the past four hundred years. From historical documents we learn that less than one hundred years after the Conquest the land titles had already been lost. The loss and recovery of the land titles has occurred again and again in the history of the municipio.

175 423 648 According to local tradition, the titles to the municipal lands fell into the hands of the Hacienda de San Gaspar during the middle of the last century. Tepoztecans were prohibited from using their own forest resources, which the hacienda used for wood fuel. The Tepoztecans carried on an extended feud with this hacienda, and the agents were killed on sight in the village. Apparently the hacienda was

[1] In these early land grants, the land was described as follows ". . . la mayor parte de tierra infructífera por los muchos cerros y lomas ásperas, barrancas y montes intransitables." These early documents also establish the fact that the village of Tepoztlán was the administrative seat of the municipio. The surrounding villages are listed as *pagos.* See *Ramo de Tierras,* Vol. 67 (1591), Exp. 11, Foja 12; and Vol. 3501 (1745), Exp. 1, Cuaderno 4. The ancient boundaries are also given in the *Relación.*

[2] *Ibid.*

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

agreeable to settling the issue and offered to sell the land titles back to Tepoztlán. A wealthy Tepoztecan, Vicente Gómez, offered to lend the money to the municipio for the purchase of the titles. This man later became a leading *cacique* in the village and controlled the local government. In an attempt to recover his loan, he levied heavy taxes on each sack of charcoal produced by Tepoztecans. A group of villagers finally assassinated him.

The land titles were again lost between 1900 and 1905 when a local priest sold to an outsider the land titles and other important documents kept in the archives of the convent.[8] A few years later the village had to buy them back at a high price. This occurred again in 1925 when the municipio paid 800 pesos to buy back its land titles from a non-Tepoztecan woman into whose hands they had fallen.

Judging from the early documents, there was little change in the system of communal landholdings during the entire colonial period. The only references of significance show that as early as 1567 Cortés had rented some Tepoztecan lands to the operator of his Hacienda of Tlaltenango and also to some Tepoztecans. Presumably Cortés was using communal lands for this purpose. The first great change in the system of landholdings occurred after the Revolution of 1857 when most of the communal lands held by the church were taken over by some of the leading families of the village as private property. After this time Tepoztecans could petition the local authorities for title to some of the communal lands.

One occasion for a fairly large distribution of communal lands to individual Tepoztecans occurred in the late 1890's as a result of an attempt of the Hacienda of Oacalco to grab some of the Tepoztecan lands. To present a stronger legal claim, the local authorities encouraged Tepoztecans to file claims for individual plots of land in the area which was being threatened, so that individual court actions could be lodged against the hacienda if the lands were taken. The private owners of the said lands backed up their newly acquired claims by force of arms, and managed to keep the lands for Tepoztlán. However, despite the Reform Laws of 1857, most of the communal lands of Tepoztlán remained intact and were not converted into private property.

Although the municipio of Tepoztlán held on to most of its communal lands, these lands were under the control of the local *caciques* and, therefore, were not always available to the landless Tepoztecans. Before the Revolution of 1910–20, the *caciques,* with the support of state and federal authorities, prohibited the villagers from using the communal lands in order to assure a cheap labor supply for themselves. One of the most important effects of the Revolution upon Tepoztlán was that the communal lands of the municipio became open to all Tepoztecans.

Another important change in the status of the communal lands occurred shortly after the Revolution as a result of the National Ejido Program. On April 24, 1921, a group of Tepoztecans, led by members of the colony of Tepoztecans in Mexico

[8] Manuel Miranda y Martín, "Una Excursión a Tepoztlán," *Société Scientifique*, Bk. 28 (1905–06), pp. 22-23.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

City, appealed for *ejido* lands for the landless families in the village. The petition for *ejidos* asked that the lands of the neighboring Hacienda of Oacalco, which had taken Tepoztecan lands in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, be restored.

After almost ten years of petitioning and investigations, the request was finally granted, and by a presidential order of November 24, 1929, Tepoztlán received in restitution 2,100 hectares of land from the Hacienda of Oacalco. Of these 2,100 hectares of land, 200 were unirrigated land cultivable only during the rainy season, 500 were forest lands, and 1,400 were scrub forest lands suitable for mixed grazing.[4] This meant that there were only 200 hectares of cultivable land available for distribution in individual *ejido* plots. In addition to these lands, there have recently been other so-called *ejido* grants. In 1937 and again in 1940, the Departamento Agrario created *ejidos* out of portions of the communal lands and allotted these lands to individual Tepoztecan families.

The working out of the Agrarian Reform Laws and of the *ejido* program in Tepoztlán has not been without difficulties. It has led to a conflict between municipal and *ejido* authorities. In the past the communal lands were under the jurisdiction of the local municipal authorities. However, the presidential order of November 24, 1929, gave Tepoztlán the lands it had lost and included a clause which stipulated that in the future the communal lands, as well as the lands granted to the municipio as *ejidos*, were to be under the jurisdiction and administration of *ejido* authorities.

This order violated an old and well-established tradition which had received legal expression in the laws of the state of Morelos, whereby control of all communal lands was vested in the municipal government. Shortly after the presidential decree was passed, conflicts between the newly created *ejido* authorities and the municipal authorities broke out. The municipal authorities insisted in their right to control the communal lands, and when the *ejidatarios* refused to recognize this authority, they were jailed. The sending of federal troops to the village was threatened, to straighten out the confusion. Legally and technically the point of view of the Departamento Agrario won out, thereby weakening local authority.

One of the results of the change in authority is that the very scanty income of the municipio has been further reduced. It may be noted that this trend from local to national authority over communal lands began in 1926, when the Forestry Department took over responsibility for controlling and preserving the forest resources of the nation. Since that date, Tepoztecans who want to cut or burn wood for charcoal must, in theory, obtain the permission of the forestry authorities and pay the tax set by them. However, as we shall see later, in practice there are many violations; and at the time of this writing there is a flagrant disregard of any authority whatsoever in the making of charcoal.

Another conflict resulting from the *ejido* program in Tepoztlán is that between the *tlacololeros*, who have traditionally depended upon the communal lands for hillside agriculture, and the newly created *ejidatarios*. These two have come to be

[4] Most Tepoztecans think of this land as part of the communal holdings; only the arable portion is called *ejido*.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

423 665 578 separate interest groups, with the *ejidatarios* taking over, for private use, lands which have traditionally been worked by *tlacololeros*. The latter viewed with alarm this encroachment by the *ejido* authorities and formed an organization to defend their interests. This group is known as *comuneros*, in distinction to the *ejidatarios*, and has received official recognition as such by the Departamento Agrario. Each of these groups has become a political faction of weight in the village.

423 311 621 628 In theory any individual from any one of the eight villages of the municipio has the right to use the communal lands anywhere in the municipio, provided he obtains the permission of the municipal authorities, or, as at the present time, the forestry and *ejido* authorities. But in practice each of the eight villages has come to consider certain lands, generally those nearest the village, as its own. Thus, moral boundaries have developed and are today recognized by all concerned. For example, the people of the little village of Santo Domingo jealously guard "their monte" from use by other villagers, but especially from the inhabitants of San Juan, who depend heavily upon woodcutting to earn a living. Similarly, although all *texcal* lands are technically communal property, the villagers of Gabriel Mariaca have prevented Tepoztecans from opening *tlacolol* in "their *texcal*."

[631] In recent years, conflicts over the use of communal lands have set village against village within the municipio and have seriously weakened municipal bonds. The increasing exploitation of communal resources for commercial rather than for subsistence purposes, which was encouraged by the railroad and the highway, made for competition which did not exist before. This led to a demand of the outlying villages for sole rights of control of adjoining communal lands. In effect the villages were demanding that the moral boundaries be accepted as legal boundaries, thereby interpreting the communal lands as village rather than municipio lands. [631]

423 631 628 578 314 474 [439] [648] One of the first serious difficulties between the villages of the municipio began in the early twenties when the village of San Juan—taking advantage of the proximity of the railroad which ran through the village, and because of its very limited agricultural resources—began to develop the charcoal industry on a commercial scale and to export large quantities of charcoal to Mexico City. In 1926 the villagers of San Juan organized a forestry cooperative to meet the requirements of the national forestry law of the same year. The authorities of Tepoztlán at once challenged the right of the inhabitants of San Juan to exploit municipal resources for the exclusive benefit of a single village. The people of San Juan disregarded the prohibitions of the local authorities and appealed their case directly to the national government. The dispute was bitter and led to some violence. It was finally settled by the intervention of federal authorities, who ruled in favor of the municipio.

In March, 1930, the village of Tepoztlán then organized another cooperative—this time in the name of the municipio and theoretically open to all, but actually controlled by Tepoztecans—and continued to produce charcoal on a large scale. Government files for the next five years are full of complaints from the surrounding villages of the municipio to the effect that the Forestry Cooperative was not truly a municipal organization, but was dominated by the village of Tepoztlán in the in-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

few other isolated areas does it still exist. Finally, and at long last, the tide turns, a new chapter is opened and the *ejido* comes into its own or at least, so it would appear.[9]

There can be little quarrel with this summary of the basic process. I think, however, it is useful to recognize that between the isolated mountain villages, which held on to their own lands and were largely free of hacienda influence, and the landless villages, which were literally swallowed up by the hacienda itself, there was a middle type of village like Tepoztlán, which was marginal to the hacienda area and which maintained most of its communal lands in spite of the impact of the hacienda economy. Tepoztlán lost approximately 2,500 hectares of its 25,000 hectares to the neighboring haciendas. Although Tepoztecan economy was not basically changed by the haciendas, they came to be an important source of added income to Tepoztecans. Tepoztlán was a convenient source of labor supply for many haciendas in the state of Morelos, and Tepoztecans were recruited in large numbers.

In the formulation of Mexican history as a struggle between the hacienda and the free village, there has been an understandable tendency to blacken the former and idealize the latter. It is sometimes assumed that the free villages were organized on a democratic basis and that peasants who lived in these villages automatically had access to the communal lands. As we have seen in the case of Tepoztlán, this was not so. Tepoztlán, before the Revolution of 1910, was a highly stratified society in which the well-to-do *caciques* held political power and prevented the peasants, most of whom were landless peons, from utilizing their own communal lands. We do not know to what extent this situation existed in other regions, and this is a point which deserves investigation.

Another aspect of the tendency to idealize the free village has been the assumption that collective forms of land tenure are accompanied by cooperativeness and a form of collectivism in the economic organization of agriculture. As a matter of fact, Tepoztecans, like most Mexican peasants, are a highly individualistic group of farmers, and there is a minimum of cooperativeness or collectivization in the system of agriculture. The existence of collective forms of land tenure, in the face of this individualism, has been responsible for much bickering between the villages. The coming of the railroad and the subsequent increase in production for the market under a competitive system has further weakened the role of the communal lands as a unifying force.

What light does the Tepoztecan material throw on the working out of the *ejido* program? I think it shows that any evaluation of the *ejido* program in Mexico must carefully distinguish between its effects upon villages which had been landless and those which had retained their communal lands. In villages which had lost their lands, the *ejido* program was obviously a great boon. However, among villages which had retained their communal lands, while the *ejido* helped, it also created new problems.

[9] Simpson, *The Ejido*, p. 15.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The *ejido* program in Tepoztlán has meant that 267 families, who were formerly landless, now have some land. However, the size of landholdings is too small to support Tepoztecan peasants according to their own standards. That the *ejido* has not really solved the land problem is of course due in part to the small amount of land that could be distributed, for Tepoztlán is surrounded on three sides by municipios which have their own communal lands. The *ejido* program has also had disruptive effects in the village in that it has created two distinct interest groups, the *ejidatarios* and the *tlacololeros*. Furthermore, taking the control of the communal lands away from the local municipal authorities has eliminated a source of municipal revenue, and thereby weakened local government and initiative. At the same time, it has increased centralism and made the municipio even more dependent upon the outside.

The deforestation occurring in the municipio and the refusal of Tepoztecans to abide by the regulation of the forestry department point up an important problem of more than local scope. Much has been written about the superstitious and backward Mexican peasant who opposes progress and sticks to his ancient way of life. Too frequently the specific reasons which lead to resistance to change are not sufficiently understood.

The case of Tepoztlán is typical. The livelihood of hundreds of Tepoztecan families depends upon hillside hoe culture and charcoal burning, two activities which by their very nature destroy forest resources and bring about soil erosion. Many Tepoztecans are aware that the forest resources are their greatest wealth and that failure to conserve them may lead to eventual ruin. But they are caught on the horns of the dilemma of a rapidly rising population and limited natural resources. It is no less than absurd to expect peasants to abide by rules which would deprive them of their food supply. In the light of the Tepoztecan material, it would seem essential that national programs of forest and soil conservation be carefully synchronized with other programs which will give the people alternative sources of income, if they are to give up hillside hoe culture and charcoal burning.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

243 433 pasture. For this reason, many farmers hire several peons at this time, involving an outlay of cash. At least one peon is often hired during the plowing and seeding and the first cultivation. Farmers not owning oxen and plows must rent them.

The cost of production does not always have relation to the amount of corn produced, because some fields require more work than others. In the specific cases given in Table 33 the larger production was offset by higher costs (about 32 pesos per *carga* in Plot I) and conversely, the plot which required least outlay in cash or labor yielded the least corn (about 24 pesos per *carga* in Plots II and III). Differences in cash value of the corn produced are due to the changes in market price. Those [435] who are forced to sell immediately after the harvest receive lower prices than those who hold on.

HOE CULTURE

241 311 The land used for *tlacolol* (hoe culture) is of two distinct types, located in different areas of the municipio. One type is known as *texcal*, which is covered with black volcanic rock and a semi-deciduous scrub forest in which the leaves fall and rot during the dry season and make a rich but thin topsoil in little pockets among the rocks. The other type of land is known as *cerros*, and refers to the mountainsides. Most of the *cerros* used for *tlacolol* are of lime rockbeds with many rock outcroppings and scrub forests, but of a somewhat different nature than in the *texcal*. Both types of land are at some distance from Tepoztlán, so that the farmers [484] who work this land must spend approximately two hours each way in going and returning from work.

241 423 [461] [631] [669] [642] The use of the communal lands for *tlacolol* is a fairly recent phenomenon in spite of the fact that Tepoztlán has had its communal lands since pre-Conquest times. Before the Revolution of 1910-20 during the Díaz regime, the well-to-do *caciques* who controlled the political life of the municipio forcibly prohibited the use of the communal lands for *tlacolol*. As we have indicated earlier, their primary motive was to assure themselves of a labor supply for their own lands. One of the principal changes in the economic life of the village brought about by the Revolution was to deprive the *caciques* of their power and to return to the people the right to use their communal lands. But in the years immediately following the Revolution, that is between 1920 and 1927, relatively few individuals became *tlacololeros*. The population of the village was still small and there was a relative abundance of rentable land because of the absence of many families from the village.

241 423 648 [654] [185] In 1927 the municipio lost control of the *tlacolol* lands, which passed to the jurisdiction of the forestry department. At this time Tepoztecans lost their right to work *tlacolol* because the forestry department, as part of its national program of conservation and prevention of soil erosion, forbade the indiscriminate cutting and burning of trees—an integral part of the process of preparing *tlacolol* land for cultivation. With the rapid increase of population in the thirties, the shortage of land became acute and the need for the *tlacolol* land urgent. Many individuals began to open *tlacolol* plots illegally and were fined.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

In 1938 a group of Tepoztecans organized themselves to fight for the privilege of working the communal lands. A delegation of 200 men went to the local authorities in Cuernavaca and explained that they had no other way of earning a living. They stated that they would open *tlacolol* even if it meant violence and arrest. Following this demonstration the *tlacololeros* were allowed to work without government interference, and the number of *tlacololeros* increased.

The fact that *tlacolol* land is now available to Tepoztecans is of paramount importance in the life of the community and has served two purposes. First, it has been a source of land for the landless. Together with the *ejido* land recovered from the Hacienda of Oacalco, it has reduced the number of peons and has broadened the agricultural base of the society. It has thereby reduced the sharp social and economic class distinctions which existed in the village before the Revolution.

NUMBER OF *Tlacololeros*

In 1944 there were 189 families, or 20.9 per cent of all the families in the village, in which one or more members worked *tlacolol* land. The distribution of these families by barrio and the extent to which the same families also carried on plow culture is shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34. Distribution of *Tlacololeros* by Barrio, 1944.

Barrio	No. of Families	No. of *Tlacololeros*	No. Who Have *Tlacolol* Only	No. Who Own Private Land Only	No. Who Hold *Ejido* Only	No. Who Hold *Ejido* and Own Private Land
San Miguel	214	45	23	10	8	4
La Santísima	185	34	24	4	5	1
Santo Domingo	223	26	10	5	6	5
Santa Cruz (large)	82	42	14	15	5	8
Los Reyes	49	12	9	1	1	1
San Sebastián	42	21	10	2	8	1
Santa Cruz (small)	36	2	1	1	0	0
San Pedro	22	7	5	1	1	0
Tepoztlán	853	189	96	39	34	20

It should be noted that while over fifty per cent of the *tlacololeros* are in the three larger barrios of San Miguel, La Santísima, and Santo Domingo, they constitute only a very small percentage of the total number of families in these barrios. On the other hand, in the smaller barrios the *tlacololeros* constitute a much larger percentage. Thus, in San Sebastián approximately fifty per cent of the families are *tlacololeros*. This concentration of the *tlacololeros* in the smaller barrios tends to set these barrios off as the poorest and most backward in the village.

It will also be seen from Table 34 that 96 families, or 50.7 per cent of all *tlacololeros*, depended solely upon *tlacolol;* that is, they had no private land or *ejido;* 39 *tlacololeros* owned private parcels; 34 held *ejidos;* and 20 had both private

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

with cattle brought in from Guerrero in the belief that the animal would forget its past home.

Milk products are used for medicinal purposes. Whey, cheese, and butter are used for skin rashes, and cheese is used as a poultice for snake bites. Some families use, as a purgative, milk in which a cow's tail has been soaked. Pig's fat is commonly used as a salve for inflammations.

CHARCOAL

The production of charcoal by the burning of oak and other woods is one of the most important sources of income for many Tepoztecan families, but primarily for the poor. Charcoal production demands very little capital and few tools; it utilizes the communal forest resources; it serves as a convenient source of income for the landless peasants and as a supplementary source of income for those engaged in agriculture. As a rule, charcoal production is carried on as a part-time activity by farmers during the slack season. But in the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián, about fifteen individuals engage in charcoal production as a full-time occupation.

Charcoal production has risen and fallen at different times in recent Tepoztecan history. Charcoal production on a large scale began shortly after the Revolution, when Tepoztecans returned to the village from their enforced exile. Desperately poor and with all their animals killed off, they eagerly turned to charcoal as salvation. This development was encouraged and organized by a provisional president of the municipio, Jesús Monroy, who was imposed by the state authorities in 1919 shortly after peace was established in the village. Monroy called a meeting of Tepoztecans and organized workers into brigades of charcoal burners. As a result, a large portion of the forests of Tepoztlán was practically denuded, and there arose in the village a cleavage between those who wished to conserve the forest resources and those who cut the trees for charcoal.

During the late twenties, Tepoztlán organized a forestry cooperative, the first in the state of Morelos, and large-scale production began again. Conflict ensued and the cooperative ceased to exist in 1937. Since that time, charcoal production has continued on an individual basis. Data on charcoal production in the municipio are available for the years 1934–42. (See Table 41.) During this period 3,921,518 pounds of charcoal were produced. These figures are in all probability lower than the actual amount, for much charcoal is produced secretly in violation of federal forestry regulations.

The tools used in charcoal production are an ax, a shovel, a pickax, and a machete. Charcoal workers generally leave the village for the mountains in the early morning, going alone or in groups of two or three friends or relatives. It is not customary to hire workers in this occupation, because most workers want to come home at the end of the day, and charcoal burning necessitates staying out for a few days at a time. To make charcoal, oak and sometimes pine trees are felled, cut up into logs a few feet long, and piled upright to form a charcoal oven or

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

sequence of a national campaign by the Minister of Education. Baseball, soccer, basketball, and volleyball were taught by the school and had immediate appeal among the youth. From the first, soccer was most popular. In 1929 a sports club of 22 soccer players, all from the three center barrios, was organized. The popularity of the game developed slowly until 1930, when the number of enthusiasts increased sharply because of the efforts of a new school director. Between 1934 and 1936, at the time that the road was being built, there were as many as 15 soccer teams. Even the religious barrio of Santa Cruz had its team. This enthusiasm lasted for about three years. In 1939 no soccer team existed and the interest in the sport lapsed for a few years.

There are now five teams, four in the large, center barrios and one in the small barrio of Los Reyes. The teams play against each other with the traditional barrio spirit of competition. They also play against teams from Cuernavaca and other nearby towns. There is no athletic field in the village, and the center teams play in the large yard of the Cathedral while the Los Reyes team rents a field. The scarcity of level land makes it impossible to use any of the communal land, and the young men are thinking of buying a plot of land for an athletic field. The only equipment bought by the team is the ball. About half of the players own special soccer shoes, the other half play barefoot or in huaraches.[14]

The teams usually play to an audience of small boys. Adults are disinterested in games or actively disapprove of them, and parents do not permit their daughters to attend. When teams from other villages play, only a few girls from the center barrios come to watch. The skill and triumphs of the players are appreciated by a handful of people; there are no fans and there is no community spirit in connection with this sport.

In 1947, when a Cultural Mission was in Tepoztlán, there was an attempt made to stimulate wider interest in games by organizing an inter village competition and appointing committees of *madrinas* or godmothers for each team. The *madrinas* came dressed in white and bearing flowers for each team, but the audiences remained as small as ever.

The advantages of the cooperative action involved in team playing, and the unifying effect of a strong common interest, are experienced only by the actual members of the teams. Small as this group is, their experience in cooperation is of some significance in so highly individualistic a village as Tepoztlán.

Recreational activities in Tepoztlán were further diversified with the opening of a billiard room in 1935. This was another point of conflict between the older people and the younger men of the village. The poolroom was quickly characterized as a breeding place of drunkenness and bad habits. But despite their objections, pool became popular among the boys of all the barrios. When boys began to stay out of school to play, parents forced the local administration to ban poolrooms from admitting boys under eighteen years of age. There are now two poolrooms, one with

[14] A professional soccer player from Mexico City admired the skill of young Tepoztecans in kicking the hard ball with their bare toes.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

10 *local government and politics:*

631
648

THE MUNICIPIO OF TEPOZTLÁN is one of twenty-seven municipios of the state of Morelos. It is governed by the State Constitution of November 20, 1930, which abolished the older political divisions known as districts and established "free municipios," each with local governments to be elected by popular vote. The village of Tepoztlán is the seat of the municipal government and as such is the most important administrative and political center of the municipio.

175
631
648

Tepoztlán, like Mexico as a whole, has had a long and complicated political history which antedates the Spanish Conquest by many centuries. As has been noted before, Tepoztlán had experienced a number of conquests before the coming of the Spaniards and had a long history of living under political domination and an authoritarian system. The more than three hundred years of Spanish rule during the colonial period continued this tradition. In fact, Mexican independence from Spain brought very little political change for the village, and it continued to live under an authoritarian and imposed regime up to the Revolution of 1910–20.

[68]

Since 1910 political life in the village has been unusually intense, dramatic, and not without its tragic aspects. Because of its proximity to both the state and national capitals it has been particularly subject to outside political influences and has reflected state and national political trends. Almost every political current of national importance has had some repercussions in the village. The village participated in the struggle against the Huerta Uprising, and later against the Cristeros.

665
648

In the thirties the village had a Communist cell and was strongly pro-Cárdenas. Later it was in favor of Almazán and there was even talk of armed uprising when he was defeated. The Sinarquistas were also active in the village, though quite unsuccessful. And during World War II the villagers were decidedly pro-axis and anti-gringo. More recently the campaign against hoof and mouth disease again fanned anti-American sentiment, because of the widespread belief that American pressure was responsible for the killing of diseased animals. In all of this, Tepoztlán reflected national tendencies.

661
641
171

Local government in Tepoztlán shows many of the characteristics and problems familiar to students of Latin America, and of Mexico in particular, and presents

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

a sorry picture. Inefficiency, irresponsibility of officials, dishonesty and graft, lack of local funds for public improvements, betrayal by leaders, widespread suspicion of the government and its motives, lack of village unity, and apathy are among the salient traits.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The local government is known as the *ayuntamiento* and consists of the following officers: president, *síndico procurador*, *regidor de hacienda*, secretary of the *ayuntamiento*, treasurer, police chief, sub-police chief, *juez menor*, secretary to the *juez menor*, and porter. In addition there are eight *ayudantes*, each representing one of the *demarcaciones* of the village. The president, *síndico*, *regidor*, and *juez menor* are elected by popular vote for a two-year period.[1] The other officials are appointed by the president in agreement with the *síndico* and *regidor*.

The duties of the major officials are determined by state law. The way in which the officials function depends upon their personalities. A meek president will serve only as a figurehead and allow the *síndico* and secretary to run the government. An aggressive president may in turn take over the functions of the other officials. The president is the executive officer and as such is the official representative of the village in dealings with the outside. His signature is necessary for most correspondence and official acts. He sets the fines for infractions of the law; in addition, the inhabitants often bring their private difficulties and family quarrels to him.

The *síndico* is charged with responsibility for protecting the communal resources of the municipio, that is, the lands, forests, and water resources. It is he who guards the titles to these resources. He has authority to use the local police to apprehend anyone suspected of immoderate or illegal use of communal resources. The *síndico*, together with the president, inspects the accounts of the municipio. In addition, he is responsible for the inspection of cattle before they are slaughtered to determine that they are not diseased. He must inspect the cattle brands to be sure that the cattle have not been stolen. Furthermore, he is the sub-agent of the Ministerio Público, and in this capacity acts as an attorney general, responsible for investigating all violations of the laws of the state.

The *regidor* is responsible for the financial operations of the municipio, and the treasurer serves as his assistant.

By far the greatest number of tasks falls to the secretary of the *ayuntamiento*. He is generally the most literate of the officials, and the present officeholder is a competent typist. He opens and closes the government offices six days a week, signs all correspondence, attends all public functions, maintains the records of the municipio, advises the other officers of the state law, keeps the president informed of all complaints, and attends to all complaints and requests for certifications.

The chief of police is directly responsible to the president and the entire *ayun-*

[1] There have also been other changes in the number of government employees. The present government organization follows the requirements of the State Constitution of 1930. From 1910–30 the state of Morelos was under military rule.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

652

	Income (Cont.) (Pesos)
Certificates and copies	200
Charge for entries in the civil register	50
Exemption of publication of acts of the civil register [a]	700
Corral de consejo	50
Tax on cattle	300
Commercial and industrial register	200
Registration of cattle brands	200
Registration of private documents	400
Miscellaneous authorizations	50
Tax on use of the market and plaza	500
Burial permits	300
Taxes on use of communal resources	800
Payments in lieu of public service and non-specified income	1,000
Ten per cent tax on commercial and industrial enterprises	200
Income from the state	150
Income from the state and federal governments as specified by particular laws	500
Fines imposed for infractions of laws	230
Products from sale of *Bienes Mostrencos y Hallazgos de Tesoro Ocultos*	200
Gifts to the municipio	200
Total	9,200

[651] [651] [651] [648]

It can be seen that almost fifty per cent of the income of the municipio is derived from four sources: the slaughter of animals, the payment of residents in lieu of working twelve days a year in public service, the exemption of publication of acts in the civil register, and taxes from the use of communal resources.

The income of the municipio over a twelve-year period from 1931 to 1943 (data for 1936 were not available) is shown as follows:

Year	*Income* (Pesos) [a]
1931	4,360.74
1932	2,586.35
1933	4,855.91

[a] The figures for 1931 are for ten months, and those for 1932 are for six months. All others are for a twelve-month period.

[651] [546] [585] [217]

income from this source indicates how rarely movies or other public entertainment comes to the village.

[b] According to state law, marriages and other acts recorded in the register should be officially announced by posted notices in the *ayuntamiento* and in the official government bulletin. But Tepoztecans shun this kind of publicity and by paying a special fee can avoid it. The same thing occurs in relation to the reading of the marriage banns by the priest. By special payment this also can be avoided.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

652

Year	*Income* (Pesos)
1934	4,011.80
1935	3,742.60
1936	—
1937	5,162.49
1938	4,795.75
1939	6,494.70
1940	7,088.58
1941	6,467.74
1942	7,617.03
1943	7,568.99

Since the salaries of the officials amounted to over seven thousand pesos per year (during the forties), it is obvious that there was little money left over for public improvements. This is one of the demoralizing factors in local government and also one of the reasons that the Tepoztecans generally look to the federal government for help. Each president who enters office promises to do something for his pueblo. But he soon learns that there are no funds, not to mention the other difficulties. To make matters worse, many villagers are convinced that the local government officials, especially the president, *dudico*, *regidor*, and secretary, are dishonest and have a large income from illegal dealings. But this does not deny the fact that the official income is much too meager for any significant public works program with local funds.

653 652 [666] [641]

It will be noted that the municipio has practically no income from land taxes. Most of the taxes on land goes to the state government. The state government collected over sixty thousand pesos in taxes in the twelve years between 1931 and 1943 for which data are available.[8] During this entire period the only state funds which went back to the village were for the salary of the state tax collector who was paid on a pro rata basis.

651 648 652

The taxes which go to the federal government are considerably smaller than those which go to the state. Federal taxes taken out of Tepoztlán are shown in the following:

Year	*Pesos*
1938	2,529.86
1939	2,455.04
1940	—
1941	3,118.99
1942	3,794.55
1943	3,568.77

The routine business of the local government consists primarily of issuing permits for various types of activities. The most frequent requests include the following:

656 646

Permits for fiestas, religious and secular
Permits for slaughter of animals

[8] These data were obtained from the official state tax records in Cuernavaca.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

665 zation." It had two major projects: first, the building of a road to join the village
185 to Cuernavaca, and second, the preservation of the forests. The road building proj-
175 ect tended to unite the village temporarily although opposition to the idea was not lacking, especially from owners of mules who feared the road would hurt their business. But the Fraternales were less successful in their attempt to preserve the forests.

175 In 1930, Tepoztecans organized the Cooperativa Forestal Central de Tepoztlán
474 for the purpose of producing charcoal. The story of this cooperative deserves to be
314 told in detail, because it reflects so clearly the schisms and conflicting interests in the village. The story given here was obtained from leaders of the cooperative and
[665] leaders of the opposition group, the Fraternales. In addition, documents and re-
[127] ports concerning the cooperative were obtained from the Departamento Forestal in Mexico City.

Tepoztecans and inhabitants of the other villages of the municipio of Tepoztlán had traditionally relied upon the forest resources for their firewood and charcoal, and a handful of Tepoztecans had specialized in the making of charcoal which was sold locally. The forest resources constituted an important part of the subsistence economy. While the sale of wood outside of the village occurred, for example to the Hacienda of Oacalco, it was never on a large scale. For such enterprises
[656] Tepoztecans were required to obtain a permit from the municipal authorities for 50 centavos a week.

In the early twenties the village of San Juan, taking advantage of its proximity to the railroad which runs through the village, and because of its limited agricultural resources, began to develop the charcoal industry on a commercial scale and exported large quantities of charcoal to Mexico City. In 1926 the villagers organized a forestry cooperative to meet the requirements of the national forestry law of 1926.[20] This was the first cooperative in the state of Morelos.

The authorities of Tepoztlán challenged the right of the village of San Juan to cut large numbers of trees from forests which were municipal rather than village property, and the residents of San Juan were prohibited from cutting trees. But they appealed their case directly to the national authorities, maintaining that the moun-
● [648] tains in question were village property. The dispute was bitter and accompanied by some violence. It was finally settled by the intervention of federal authorities who ruled that the municipio had legal title to the land in question. In March, 1930, Tepoztlán organized its own cooperative to which the villagers of San Juan were admitted.

Hidalgo, a poor young man from the central barrio of Santo Domingo, bec... president of the cooperative. Under his leadership the cooperative grew and prospered. In a short while it had over five hundred members, ninety-five per cent

[648] [20] This was Mexico's first serious attempt to legislate for the conservation of its forest resources. The law took control of forest resources out of the hands of local municipal authorities and provided that permission from the forestry authorities was necessary before any trees could be cut.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

[1939-1940]

175 646 661 among them the governor of the state, the local deputies, and the federal deputies. He was helped by some friends of his backed up by the employees. The comptroller, who scarcely liked to drink at all, occasionally took the president home when the latter was too drunk to walk.

[253] The attorney general, who was charged with listing all the animals that were slaughtered in the municipal slaughterhouse, was known to let some stolen animals pass, from which he received a share of the profit. Other people said that these were mere calumnies, but the real truth was never known, namely, that he stayed simply to help at the slaughtering time and to take some pieces of meat or a bucket of blood which he used for food.

The municipal president, in turn, was sometimes known to be playing a bad game, that is, if some person had some problems he sold favors, charging a few pesos. There was a concrete case. A young man tried to rape a girl one evening. The members of the family immediately went to the Town Hall to ask for help from the police. The young man was caught and taken to the municipal jail. The next day the members of his family succeeded in bribing the municipal president with 20 pesos. The municipal president there told the boy to say that he was very sick at his stomach. The boy did so, and since the municipal president could not pronounce judgment then, he tried to have the girl's family desist from their claim and threatened to fine them. They withdrew very calmly, without knowing they had been deceived. Various cases of this kind were seen during this administration, sometimes by agreement with the attorney general but almost never with the comptroller, because the latter had occupied posts of this nature before, and did not wish it to turn out badly again.

There were times when this municipal president went to see one or another of the business men who had unsettled accounts with the municipal treasury. He would order beer or something else and say, "Charge this up to your contribution." Then he would tell the municipal treasurer that he owed money in such and such a tavern. The same thing happened with the butchers; he would go and ask for a kilo or two of meat and charge it to the account of the butcher's license to slaughter cattle in the municipal slaughterhouse. When the butchers were killing beef cattle he willingly assisted them, so that they would give him a piece of meat.

175 648 Once when the neighboring people of Tejalpa had violated the boundaries and were trying to invade the lands of this township, the matter reached the ears of the council, who immediately proceeded to call a meeting of all the citizens. With the support of the guard, which existed in the town, they marched toward the place where the aforesaid violation had occurred. When they got there, the people from here, who numbered about 150 armed men, with the municipal president at their head, threw themselves upon the men from Tejalpa; and an engineer, commissioned by the Department of Agriculture, was disarmed and taken prisoner to this place. The rest of the men from Tejalpa were put in the public prison. The engineer tried to protest, but his protests had no effect.

175 646 661 Several months after his installation as president, Donaciano Linares bought a little car; no one knew how. He began to drive it in the evenings on the highway, sometimes having an accident, hitting an animal or another car. But since he was the municipal president hardly anyone protested. During his administration the budget improved a little, a typewriter was bought. But he carried it off to his house about two days before the installation of the succeeding council. The same thing happened with a wall clock which was bought in this period. He tried to take it away, but he did not succeed because the other councillors prevented him.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the natives into religious associations which facilitated the administrative and political functions of the colony.

Cofradías (brotherhoods) and *gremios* (societies) were organized under the auspices and protection of a saint. A *mayordomo* and other officials were chosen from among the *principales* and loyal supporters of the Crown. The system of *cofradías* had the following functions: (1) it facilitated formation of other organizations, such as cults of particular saints; (2) it simplified the collection of religious taxes; (3) it supplemented local police and helped seek out delinquents, escaped slaves, and others; (4) it aided in the collection of tribute; and (5) it provided extra companies of troops in times of emergency.

The church, united as it was with the state, became very strong. Church personnel were numerous and were paid from public funds. High public officials were obliged to preside over all religious processions and ceremonies. Religious fiestas, which greatly increased church income and stimulated local trade, became very numerous during the colonial period.

THE EPOCH OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE FALL OF THE DÍAZ REGIME

The first years of Mexican independence from Spain passed almost unnoticed in Tepoztlán, where life changed very little. The church, aided by the guarantees of the plan of Iguala, continued to be united with the new state without any major changes in its organization. As a matter of fact, after being liberated from the colonial tribute, Tepoztecans were subject to an even greater tribute by the church in the form of the forced collection of the *diezmo*, a tax whereby Tepoztecans had to pay one-tenth of their produce to the church.

The first great change in the religious life of Tepoztlán occurred during the reform period of Juárez, when church and state were separated and church property confiscated. Until this time the church in Tepoztlán, as in most of Mexico, was the institution that stood for the status quo. After Juárez, the church became an aggressive force struggling against the state and became involved in the so-called Wars of the Reform, fighting against the liberal orientation of the Mexican government. While we have little specific data for Tepoztlán on this point, it may be assumed that the village was also affected and that some Tepoztecans worked through church associations against the government while others participated in the liberal ranks of the victorious party of Benito Juárez. Later, during the struggle against the Emperor Maximilian, who was blessed by the Pope and had the aid of the church, we know that liberalism had penetrated into Tepoztlán, for one of Tepoztecan's sons, General Prisciliano Rodríguez, organized a column of Tepoztecans and fought heroically against invading French troops. The church had indeed lost much of its old power.

The economic revolution brought about by the amortization of the wealth of the church produced a new oligarchy which, under President Díaz, again delivered itself into the arms of the church. In Tepoztlán the new upper class, the

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

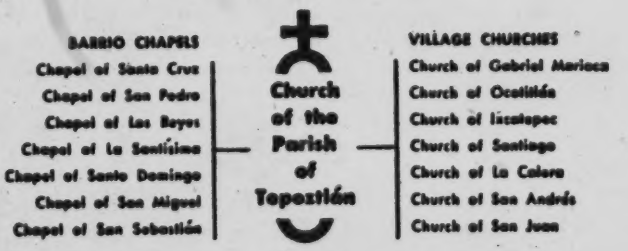
794 In addition to barrio *mayordomos* there are *mayordomos* of the chapels of the
[628] seven surrounding villages. Occasionally the people of these villages select someone in Tepoztlán to be their *mayordomo*, as did Ixcatepec in electing a young man from the barrio of San Pedro in Tepoztlán.

[778] There are also several *mayordomos* of an inferior category who are in charge of certain images. Thus, for example, in the barrio of Santa Cruz there is a *mayordomo* to care for the Virgen del Rosario situated in the barrio chapel.

The *mayordomos* have several assistants whom we include on the sixth level of religious functionaries. The *limosneros* are permanent functionaries who collect the taxes from house to house. These men, attired in their clean Sunday clothes and carrying a plate on which is a spray of Bougainvillaea or some other red flowers, visit every house asking for contributions, such as "A *limosna* for the image of the *Divino Rostro* whose day is to be celebrated on Sunday." One type of *limosnero* of special interest is the *huehuechique*, who can say Catholic prayers in Náhuatl and
[621] who collects money for the New Year. At one time there were many *huehuechiques* but now there is only one in the barrio of Santa Cruz.

[533] Among those who assist the *mayordomos* and who animate the barrio fiestas are the musicians. When there is not enough money to hire a professional band from Cuernavaca or Mexico City, the *mayordomos* will hire local musicians. Other assistants clean the local chapel and repair the masonry. The *danzantes* who
[535] dance in honor of the barrio saint are also temporary functionaries. It is the task of the *mayordomo* to organize dance groups and to persuade parents to permit their
[788] children to participate. Still another temporary functionary is the *mayordomo* in charge of organizing religious peregrinations to other parts of Mexico.

CHART 4. Organization of the church.



On the seventh level of the religious hierarchy are the faithful members of the church. It is from among the more pious of these that a regular congregation and members of the religious associations are drawn; almost everyone in the village, however, participates at some time in religious activities, in barrio fiestas, and in
[476] the *cuatequitl del santo*, which is the collective working of the milpas dedicated to the support of particular saints.

[648] All Tepoztecans, whether pious or not, contribute money to the church; indeed, the church of Tepoztlán is entirely self-supporting and does not require sub-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

sidies from the church of Mexico. Rather, it makes substantial contributions to the national church of Mexico.

The church of Tepoztlán includes the seven villages of the municipio and controls fourteen village and barrio chapels. This is illustrated in Chart 4.

Summarizing the total personnel of the church of the municipio of Tepoztlán we find the following:

Functionary	*Number*
Priest of the parish	1
Sexton	1
Cantor	1
Mayordomos of the barrios	7
Mayordomos of the villages	7
Monjas Carmelitas	8
Rezanderos	10
Limosneros	42
Mayordomos of the images	28
Mayordomos of peregrinations	15
Functionaries in charge of cleaning the chapels and the temple	37
Total	157

CHURCH FINANCES

As has been pointed out earlier, the church in Tepoztlán not only supports itself but also sends contributions to the bishop in Cuernavaca. It is difficult to do more than approximate the annual income of the church because of variation in contributions from year to year. Records of church income were not available to us and probably were not kept. However, we have more or less accurate data on the most important sources of income. In the following pages we will present a conservative estimate of this income.

BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND FUNERALS

Our data indicate an average of 273 live births in the municipio over a six-year period. There are two classes of baptism, one a simple type at three pesos and the other with the ringing of the bells at four pesos. Assuming that the number of baptisms is about equally divided between these two types, we get a total annual income from baptisms of 956 pesos.

The charge for the *tacumisa* (the Mass said for a mother forty days after the birth of a child) is two pesos if said from the *cancel* and one peso if said from the altar. Again assuming about an equal number of each type, we have a yearly income of 408 pesos.

The priest charges twelve pesos for a simple marriage ceremony and twenty to twenty-five pesos for a more elaborate wedding. It is difficult to determine exactly how many weddings are simple and how many are elaborate. It is our im-

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

796 *Fiesta of Sixth Friday of Lent or Viernes de Dolores,* celebrated in the parish church: Fasting is required. This is the beginning of Holy Week.

785 *Fiesta of Sábado de Dolores,* celebrated in the parish church: This is celebrated with holy offices and a Via Crucis procession.

778 821 755 *Fiesta of Palm Sunday,* celebrated in the parish church: This is a very important holiday. Tepoztecans take palm leaves to be blessed by the priest. It is believed that blessed palm protects against lightning. Ashes of blessed palm placed upon the head are thought to cure bad headaches. Blessed palm is also placed at the door of the house to prevent fires and being struck by lightning.

783 *Fiesta of Holy Monday and Holy Tuesday,* celebrated in the parish church: These are days of great devotion. The religious associations are very active, visiting the church and barrio chapels. Many Tepoztecans choose these days for their annual confession.

785 262 46 777 *Fiesta of Holy Wednesday:* Rigorous fasting begins. Meat is not eaten until the Saturday of Glory. Substitute foods are beans, *huauzontle, tortas,* stuffed peppers, fish, *revoltijo,* and lentils. All work must stop through the Sunday of Resurrection. Women prepare tortillas for the rest of the week. In the evening is the vigil of the Lord, the men taking turns all through the night. Women customarily go to church in the late afternoon to pray the thirty-three Credos, one for each year of Jesus' life. It is believed that those who do this will triple their earnings during the year.

788 *Holy Thursday:* The church is full on this day. The priest dramatically describes the passion of Christ, and crying on the part of women is common. Not to do so is "to have a cold heart." In the afternoon is the ceremonial foot-washing of the apostles.

861 *Holy Friday:* This is the culminating day of Holy Week. Throughout the village there is profound quietude. No one must run or shout or use bad words, so as not to offend the Lord. The men silently drink their *pouche* together while the women, dressed in black, go to church. On this day, children are not to be struck, for "it would be striking the Lord."

788 824 822 856 535 273 *Holy Saturday:* At 7:00 A.M. the faithful of the village and the municipio go to the church where the priest pronounces the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo." With this all the bells, which have been silent since Wednesday, are rung, and joy spreads through the village. While the bells ring, old men trim their plants so that they will produce more, mothers snip the ends of their daughter's hair to make it grow longer, and children are struck on the legs to make them grow taller. Two or three *comparsas* are organized to dance on this day.

Easter Sunday: Everyone dresses well and goes to Mass. Sometimes the *chinelos* leap in the afternoon. People stand in little groups in the plaza, and men drink a great deal.

April 29. *Fiesta of San Pedro,* celebrated in San Pedro: The only unusual feature of this fiesta is the group of children who dance for San Pedro.

May 1-31. All this month is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and *rosarios* are held every afternoon. Girls from seven to fifteen years of age dress in white and bring flowers to the Virgin.

May 3. *Fiesta of Santa Cruz,* celebrated in Santa Cruz: This fiesta is celebrated not only in this barrio but in all homes and places having crosses. All crosses are adorned with flowers, especially Bougainvillaea. Incense is burned, and fireworks are set off. This fiesta is also celebrated in Ixcatepec, but is postponed until the following Sunday in deference to the barrio of Santa Cruz. It is one of the best attended fiestas. There are cockfights and visiting dancers from Yautepec and Milpa Alta.

782 541 648

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

fewer than thirty Tepoztecans were *braceros*—that is, temporary agricultural workers in the United States; by 1957, over six hundred men had been *braceros* for periods that varied from forty-five days to over a year. This occupational change has made for other great changes in the village. In 1943, Tepoztlán suffered from an acute land shortage. Now, because in many cases the *braceros* return to the village only to rest a few months before setting out for another period in the United States, it suffers from a shortage of manpower, and many *milpas* go unculivated. The *braceros* earn more in some months in the United States than they could earn in almost two years in the village, and many of them have invested their savings in improvements for their houses and in land and cattle. Many have brought home portable radios, mechanical toys, clothing, and cloth—the village now has four full-time tailors who are kept busy providing tailor-made pants for the villagers. Although the *bracero* movement has broadened the perspective of some Tepoztecans, who now greet American visitors with a few words of English, most of the *braceros* are isolated in work camps or on farms, speak no English, live on a Mexican diet, and on the whole learn little about the United States and its way of life. Very few learn agricultural skills that can be applied in the village.

Most of the *braceros* from Tepoztlán are young men between the ages of twenty and thirty. They come predominantly from the upper segments of the lower economic group (Group I) but also from the middle group II (see p. 37). Few come from the poorest families and fewer from the wealthier families of Group III. This is an interesting change from the pattern in the early forties when only individuals with political connections and with experience outside of the village became *braceros*. At that time most Tepoztecans feared to leave the village for a distant country or even to go to the government recruiting stations for *braceros* in Mexico City. With more education, the younger generation developed a greater readiness to explore the outside world and to dare the hazards of a long journey. The sudden spurt in *bracerismo* did not occur, however, until a school teacher in one of the outlying villages became a *bracero* recruiter (locally called *coyote*). He had been a *bracero* himself and knew how to make the necessary legal arrangements. Tepoztecan men paid him a fee in the hope that he would get them longer contracts and also jobs in California rather than in Texas or Arkansas. The fees, which the *coyote* purportedly shared with government authorities, ranged from 200 to 400 pesos depending on the length of time of work specified in the contract. Most of the villagers who signed up had to borrow from local money lenders at the usual high rate of interest but they had avoided having to deal directly with the authorities and so had found the courage to take the initial step.

The *bracero* movement has served as a partial though temporary solution of the agrarian problem in the village. Tepoztlán has become dependent on the United States economy. Were the United States suddenly to close its borders to Mexican *braceros*, there would probably be a crisis both in the village and in the nation.

Another important change in Tepoztecans is their greater readiness to sell their land. In 1943, it was difficult to find anyone in the village who would consider selling a housesite or an agricultural plot. For example, in 1942 a

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

leading Mexican banker who wanted to build a home in the village negotiated for over a year before he succeeded in buying a modest-sized idle plot of land whose owner was living in Mexico City. By 1956, Tepoztecans had sold almost forty plots to as many outsiders for building homes in the village and in the lovely valley below. Tepoztecan middlemen are now speculating in land because of the steadily rising prices. A village site valued at about 50 centavos per square meter in 1943 sold in 1957 for as much as 12 pesos a meter (100 centavos to the peso).

Tepoztlán has become an international tourist colony. The non-Tepoztecan home owners now include native Mexicans, naturalized Mexican citizens of Spanish, French, German, Dutch, Japanese, and Italian ancestry, and a few Americans. Few of these people live in the village the year around but spend their holidays and vacations there. The construction of thirty-five new homes for the foreign colony has given employment to some Tepoztecan masons and day laborers. Some of the building materials—stone, sand, and tiles—also have been purchased locally. A number of the families have taken Tepoztecan girls as domestic servants both in the village and in their Mexico City or United States homes, and about a dozen Tepoztecans have jobs as caretakers. The colony also provides some additional income to local meat and milk dealers and other merchants. On the whole, the "foreigners" form few friendships in the village and except for the *Carnaval* participate very little in village affairs. It is said that most of the outsiders opposed the campaign to bring electricity to Tepoztlán for fear that it might spoil the primitive rustic quality of the village. It should be noted that among the non-Tepoztecans who have lived in the village are some of Mexico's leading intellectuals and artists and a few doctors. Some of these men have taken a great interest in the villagers and have helped them in their efforts to build a new high school, to obtain city water, and most recently (June 1958) to procure electricity.

Other forms of tourism have also grown rapidly and tourist facilities have improved. Most important has been the conversion of the banker's private home into one of the most charming resorts in Mexico, the *Posada del Tepozteco*. Since the late forties, Mexican and Hollywood movie producers have used Tepoztlán as the setting for a number of movies.

Since 1943, educational facilities have been expanded in the village. Two new schools built in the larger barrios gave the village a total of four elementary schools. Attendance rose from about 750 in 1950 to over 900 in 1956. In 1950, a high school was completed, and attendance rose from 54 in the first year to 110 in 1956. Boys still predominate over girls in both elementary and high schools. The surrounding villages have begun to reach out for higher education and now send their children to the central high school in Tepoztlán. Each year a number of Tepoztecan high-school graduates go on to the university in Mexico City.

In the past ten years bus travel to Cuernavaca has almost doubled and travel to Mexico City also has increased. On an average week day approximately 500 Tepoztecans take the bus to Cuernavaca to work, shop, study, sell produce, and to find recreation. Some of the peasants now think it worthwhile to take the bus to their *milpas*, a distance of two or three kilometers, rather

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

125 661 "*These* are the pictures they are showing your children! *This* is what they call science!"

[759] [208] Don Rosas was not the only influential figure in Tepoztlán who saw the clinic as a threat. Its inception was a danger signal to the mayor, and through him to the state senator and state governor, all of whom had already been alerted to the disruptive potentialities of the research team by a previous incident.

125 661 648 We had been in Tepoztlán one month, when a committee of poor-land farmers appealed to us to aid them in a boundary dispute with a neighboring village. The communal land was involved and if the dispute was lost, 200 families might face destitution. In spite of the fact that communal land was in question, neither the mayor nor the senator was doing anything about the case. The poor-land farmers claimed that these two officials were acting on the orders of, or out of fear of, the state governor, who they said had an interest in a large cement factory which obtained its fuel from the forests located on the disputed land. The committee had come to us because we happened to have an attorney on our staff. We explained that we could not help them officially or appear in court for them, but that our lawyer could advise them privately, as a friend. We made this decision because many of the families involved had been cooperating with us in our study of family life. Also, we felt that the dispute was a real threat to a large group of Tepoztecans and to the entire village. An investigation convinced us that their claims were just, and we felt obligated to do what we could. The word got around, and apparently the state governor and the senator, as well as the mayor, interpreted our decision as strengthening the hand of political forces opposed to the established powers.

125 661 743 When the clinic was set up, people began to say that the project members were doing more for their welfare than their own mayor was doing. This was ample grounds for mobilizing the opposition of the mayor, already made wary by the communal land incident. Don Rosas would have had little difficulty in persuading the mayor to direct the power of his office against the program. [208] Perceiving the service activities of the project as a threat to their interests, Don Rosas, the mayor, and the governor instigated or supported feeling against the project.